/vii cont./

The German consul in this emporium of Amazonas, Herr Sesselberg, as well as the German ambassador in Rio de Janeiro, Herr Le Maistre, gave us the most gracious reception.

/viii/ The ethnological collection, which, despite all the difficulties of transport, we salvaged successfully and almost without loss, was given to the Berlin Museum für Völkerkunde.

Herr Professor Baron Karl von Fritsch kindly undertook the identification of the rock samples gathered on the trip, a considerable part of which, however, was unfortunately lost.

In working up the linguistic material I was enthusiastically assisted by my friend Herr Dr. Georg Wenker in Marburg.

The illustrations, with the exception of the ten separate pictures which Mr. Johannes Gehrts of Düsseldorf made, as well as a few photographs collected on the trip, were done by my cousin, Wilhelm von den Steinen, from his numerous travel sketches. In the case of the ethnographic plates, he was helped by a few photographs, for which I am indebted to the Assistant Director of the Berlin Museum, Herr Dr. von Luschan.

Besides an ethnographic and a simple survey map, a special map by Herr Dr. Claus, which was made available by the publishing firm of Justus Perthes, was added to the book. The results of our meteorological and geographical studies were published by Dr. Claus in detailed form in the May and June issue of Petermanns Mittheilungen for the year 1886. He also erected a small meteorological station in Cuyabá, in order to obtain a series of observations over a longer period; Herr August Karstens, a German master tailor in residence there, has earned the most commendable merit for filling in as best he could the considerable gaps in our meteorological knowledge of central South America and has already sent in a continuous series of observations.

I am particularly indebted to Herr Capistrano de Abreu of Rio, the translator of "Wappaeus," who was indefatigably active in obtaining for me excerpts from older works in the Bibliotheca Nacional.

/vi cont./

122 [113] Simultaneously with the appearance of this book, Professor Vogel is publishing his results in the organ of the Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin /Geographical Society of Berlin/ which deserves credit in connection with our journey for supporting him from the funds of the Karl Ritter Foundation. I cordially thank the president, Privy Councilor Baron von Richthofen, for his kind permission to add to my account the map drawn and edited by Dr. Richard Kiepert's trusted hand. I myself experienced substantial assistance through the Humboldt Foundation of the Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin /Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences of Berlin/, and on this occasion, too, I beg the Board of Trustees to accept my most sincere gratitude.

In the course of the journey we were given numerous demonstrations of hospitality by Brazilians as well as by countrymen in Brazil and the La Plata states, both by simple private persons and by persons in high office, who have put us most deeply under obligation to them. Though we can show our appreciation to the sons of the country to a certain extent by helping to open up the interior of a little explored province, we remain wholly indebted to our countrymen. were I merely to mention the localities where they live, I would have to recapitulate the entire route, except for the Indian paths. Thus, to all to whom these lines find their way, whether they import and export in trade or lead in a political position, or whether, as intrepid colonists, they live far from the coast, I extend the most cordial greetings and with them the safeguard of peace and orderly conditions for their work.

128 [502] [113] The maize has already bloomed six times since we left the source region of the Schingú -- "two two two, ahége ahége ahége," counts the Bakaïrí, and finds no words in his language to express a larger number. The report has been delayed longer than I liked; I was held back primarily by preliminary linguistic studies (Die Bakaïrí-Sprache /The Bacairi Language/, K. F. Köhler, Leipzig, 1892), but I learned many things from them and gained a broader and firmer foundation than was the

/vi cont./

v28 case with the considerably smaller amount of linguistic and ethnographic material from the first expedition. My love for the subject has only grown with my longer occupation with it, for in equal measure it necessarily strengthened the recognition of the truth propounded with flaming enthusiasm by our revered elder master, Adolf Bastian, that the decline of the little esteemed primitive peoples means the loss of irreplaceable information for the history of the human mind. There is no lack of confirmation in the following pages. And just as everyone who is deeply imbued with a conviction feels impelled to make propaganda for it, so I, too, should not care to address myself only to the narrow circle of specialists, and I have permitted myself the pleasure /vii/ of writing for general understanding. I must gratefully acknowledge here the courage and co-operation of the publishing firm, which granted my wish to set the price as low as possible and nevertheless did not stint in the layout.

May the reader be no more aware of the great interval of time than I am when I imagine myself back in those days. It cannot be denied, my sense of time functions a little defectively. I only wish the reason were that I truly succeeded in going deeply into the soul of our primitive peoples, these children of the moment -- to try to do this was my real task.

Neubabelsberg

Kastelhenhof, October 1893.

/63 cont./

533 note)/: kuyâuhu kuyâuhuhũ -- kirũhayẽ kiruhayẽ (four times) --
539 kuyâuhu kuyâu.

Softly and rather muffled, solemnly slow, lingering a long time on the au.

The principal song that we were to sing together often was the following: yawĩ yawĩ nakũ -- novĩ ritõ hahẽ -- ohõ hohũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ, ohõhuhõ huhũ, nikẽ wekẽ nikẽ, notũ arĩte õhohu, ohõhuhõ, etc.

Muffled and softly, but faster and faster with a stamped beat and a jerky emphasis that impels one to stride forward; the õhohu... is repeated until one is almost out of breath, and then one recovers on the more solemn: nõ tũ hã -- notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ -- notũ arĩte nõhuhẽ nuhã hahũ nõ tũ hã, nõ tũ hã -- õho hũ hu.

533 A greater contrast can scarcely be imagined than between a jolly students' drinking song and these songs whose rendition was scarcely to be called singing, but seemed merely intended to accompany the dancing march of the feet with suppressed tones. I
[123] sang, too, of course, running the risk of not giving the good people a generally valid idea of our music, since I have at my disposal only "my own melodies." I achieved a small moral success, but they were a little overwhelmed because of the unfamiliar noise connected with the volume of tone. Natural sounds, however, such as "rudirallala," my friend Paleko liked exceptionally well; he was passionately eager to learn them and bent double laughing when he could not follow quickly enough.

291 Feeling of modesty. In this narrative part I wish to avoid
• [128] describing clothing and ornaments in detail and shall limit myself, as far as personal appearance is concerned, to the remark that both sexes went about unclothed, that the women, as may
[287] be seen from Plate 5, A wore the "ulũri," a yellowish brown piece
[301] of bark-bast folded in a triangle and fastened to strings, and around their necks a string with pieces of shell, pieces of stalks, and seeds, that the men always wore a hip cord, with or without such ornaments, and frequently bast /64/ or cotton bands around

A [See P. 28 -- Analyst]

/72 cont./

123 and whose language "itâno" evoked loud outbursts of merriment and jubilation.

Then "muh," "mãh," "waûwau," and "miau" in all tones rang out from me and from them. Especially effective was the variation between the peculiar "mãh" of the old sheep and the pitiful "mãh" of a little lamb seeking its mother, between the barking of big curs and that of little yappers. Incidentally I commanded a rather good pronunciation in these itânos, so that the shrewd experts on animal languages had no need to doubt the authenticity. I also tried to make clear to them the character of the animals by having different kinds, such as cat and dog, appear together, tried to explain to them that a dog, for example, obeys man, and was now in a position to instruct them about the origin [153] of my woolen clothing -- mãh. They were attentive pupils who very soon mastered the subject matter completely and practiced assiduously.

The memorable session of our tobacco club in which I gave the first lecture about European domestic animals had extended far into the night, /Plate VI appears here/ /73/ but I took leave of happy men on whose faces was written: that was a fine evening. Luchu barked in exemplary fashion; he ran into the two houses from which a great deal of bright laughter had already been heard and ran around there with a wild wau-wau.

I was already lying half asleep in my hammock and believed the citizenry to be resting in their accustomed peace, when once more Eva's voice from over yonder roused me with a loud "mãh." So I replied "mãh" for a good ending from my sheep stall; there was giggling again everywhere behind the straw walls, and finally quiet actually came, until -- mãh, mãh even before sunrise -- I started up, cursing.

128 One day went by like the next. In the next chapter I shall relate fully how we worked together in my hut, how the Bakaïrí learned Portuguese and I Bakaïrí, while I shall add here what I have to report about our life together.

[Text continues on p. 97]

/80 cont./

151 no f in their store of sounds and replace it with p. If I said fogo
191 (fire), fumo (tobacco), they would say pogo, pumo. But they
194 heard, or, more correctly, apperceived, the f also as p. they were, as far as I could see, firmly convinced that they were pronouncing the same sound that I had said to them. Their attitude was entirely different if, for example, I gave them too long a word. then they struggled and despaired of it, but with regard to fogo, fumo, f...., the more emphatically and loudly I said it, the more emphatically and loudly they joined in. pogo, pumo, p...., with decided indignation over my dissatisfaction.

• 128 I was obliged to be content with completing the vocabulary as much as possible and interpreting the sentences to the best of my knowledge. I did not achieve an actual translation that would do justice to the subtleties of their language; whatever I was able to offer in this respect in my book Die Bakairí-Sprache /The Bakairí Language/ (Leipzig, K. F. Köhler, 1892), I owe
192 to Antonio. I was especially very peculiarly touched by their joy over the richness of their stock of words. They manifested great pleasure at having a word for every object, as though the name itself were a sort of thing and piece of property. That the number of concepts depends primarily on interest was clearly evident. On the one hand, in comparison with our languages, an abundance of words, such as animal names or kinship terms; on the other hand, a poverty at first surprising. yêlo is "lightning" and "thunder"; kuŋpô, rain, /81/ thunderstorm, and cloud. Now of course, almost all rains in their region are associated with thunderstorm phenomena, and the cloud in the sky has interest for them only insofar as it means an approaching thunderstorm. The fact that, when they combine into one concept, in their word yêlo, the visual and audible aspect of the electrical discharge, thunder is the more essential part is shown by the fact that they also call the buzzing whizzer-stick yêlo. I, who proceeded from the idea of the magic instrument, according to the custom of mythologists, who was looking for the uncanny and recognized this primarily in the flashing streak, at first translated the word as "lightning" instead of "thunder."

/81 cont./

192 The real poverty is in the lack of superordinate concepts,
811 as among all primitive peoples. They have a word for "bird," which probably means "winged," but the North Karaiben have another stem toro- or tono-, which among the Bakaïrí also means very ordinary birds, a species of parrot or wild chicken /Waldhuhn/. Each parrot has its particular name and the more general concept of "parrot" is completely lacking, just as the concept "palm" is lacking. They know the characteristics of each parrot and palm species very precisely, however, and cling so to these numerous individual facts that they pay no attention to the common features, which, to be sure, have no interest. Thus, one sees that their poverty is only a poverty of higher units; they are choked by the mass of material and cannot handle it economically. They deal only in small change, but in the number of pieces in their possession they should be called superrich rather than poor. In building up their thoughts they set their ideas together like an endless wall of uniform stones and as yet have scarcely any notion of architectonic structure.

811 Their ineptness at forming abstractions came out most clearly
● 193 in my efforts with regard to their art of counting. About this, however, I should like to report later in a separate chapter, so that now I may finally take up once more the thread of our travel chronicle and return to Independencia, to my traveling companions. In my description of my Bakaïrí idyl I have been very detailed to some extent, but will thus be saved many details in the later perayal, since the picture among the other tribes was essentially the same, even though I was never again able to enjoy it so quietly.

2: Steinen--S3fD-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SP7

/82/

Chapter VI.

1. Joint Departure and Visiting of the Three Bakaïrí Villages.

Independencia during my absence. Preparations for setting out. To the first Bakaïrí village. Photographs. Doll delivered. To the second Bakaïrí village. River journey. Hospitality. Mummery to fetch food. Nocturnal dance. Frieze in the house of the chief. To the third Bakaïrí village. Speeches of welcome. Collection. The first Nahuquá. Body measurements and beads.

On 19 September 1887 Ehrenreich and Vogel arrived. We traveled together to the second village of the Bakaïrí, where we acquired another canoe and returned to the first village. The former left for Independencia on 24 September and I followed them on the 25th, overtook them, for Carlos was ill with fever, and on the 26th we were all united again in Independencia. Tumáyaua and Luchu had accompanied me and were now able to study the "wau-wau" in the original. I do not yet want to describe our visit with the second Bakaïrí here, but rather would like to include it in the report concerning the later, joint one, so that the crisscross routes will not make it difficult to get an over-all view.

I had been absent from Independencia from the 8th to the 26th of September. It may be imagined with what a feeling of relief Wilhelm and Perrot greeted our canoes.

The mules had caused them and old Januario a great deal of worry. Day after day first this one and then that one was missing. Once Januario had been obliged to fetch back an animal from the next-to-last campsite of the journey here and had thus always been on the go. Meanwhile fresh young grass had sprung up on the queimada and the future was thus assured. The donkeys were in good condition; they were already beginning to grow fat, were already becoming unmanageable, and came daily to drink at a pool. Only "Balisa," the "post," had come up with a hole filled with maggots in his back. "Tormenta" had been relieved of the pangs of existence. He could no longer stand on his legs, no longer ate the grass that was carefully cut up for him, and one morning lay dead on the sandy beach.

5 /155 cont./ The Suyá geographer
101 already mentioned the "Kayuquará" as the outermost inhabitants, and I had assumed at that time, correctly it now seems, that by that the Kayabí-Kayapó were meant.

8 The long list of names looks worse than it actually is. Each
101 village has its name, and the stranger who hears it cannot at first
103 judge whether he should expect a new or a familiar tribe there.
621 The simplest example is the Nahuquá. For the Indian, "Nahuquá"
4 refers only to the inhabitants of the Kulisehu village; the
101 Yaurikumá, Guiburá, etc. do not call themselves Nahuquá, and
621 it was merely because of our happening to stop first among the "Nahuquá" that I am using this name as the tribal name. There
Y may be slight dialectal differences, but I was able to record a
[199] list of the most important words from the Yanumakapé and am convinced, and for the Yaurikumá and Guiburá as well, that their language corresponds throughout with the "Nahuquá." The
8 Bakairí are inspired by a strong feeling of nationality, for they
101 call themselves Bakairí whether they live in the source region of
62 the Arinos, the Paranatinga, the Batovy, or the Kulisehu. By
[619] analogy with the Nahuquá, the Bakairí of the Kulisehu would
[103] have to call themselves by their village names: Maigéri, Igueti, and Kuyaqualiéti.

8 It would have been a blessing for ethnography if all the
101 tribes had taken as a model this fine example of the Bakairí.
128 We have several clear examples here of how a family community,
199 or, if one wishes, a tribe, becomes scattered, how each separate
619 community is inclined to give up the old connection and therefore loses it irrevocably, must become a new "tribe" if the displacement continues, and closer relations are maintained, not with neighbors related by blood, but those of another extraction. Under these circumstances, there is nothing else for us to do /156/ but to determine first of all the linguistic relationships. They are not to be confused with blood relationships. But under the simple narrow circumstances which are involved here, linguistic relationship and blood relationship coincide far more than among more highly civilized peoples, who, through writing, possess a language that has developed a distinct character. If a

3 /156 cont./
101 couple of foreign individuals enter one of these family communi
128 ties, they will, it is readily admitted, bring about a crossbreeding
197 which is not disclosed by a study of the language. But inter-
619 mixtures on a greater scale also change the language tremendously.
The foreign women who become mothers exert an influence on
the language of the children, which, in the Island Karaiben, for
620 example, is plainly evident. The children of the Karaiben men
and Anuak women did not by any means speak Karaiben, as the
young mulattoes in Brazil speak Portuguese, but rather spoke a
new language which had important grammatical elements and
phonetic peculiarities from the mothers. This is not very sur-
prising, for the cultural differences between the two tribes were
not basic, the number of foreign women was large, and they
brought all their local traditions into the marriage, since the
conquering men came from the outside. The children were com-
pelled both to make a compromise with the language materials
on the father's and the mother's side, and to choose between the
prefixes and suffixes offered by the one and the other, which are
of decisive importance for the alteration of the word roots as a
result of the influence on the stem's initial or final sound, and
they experienced the reciprocal effect, uncurbed by any school-
master culture, but instead freely active, of the phonetic laws
3 valid up to then in the two parental tribes. Among these primi-
101 tive peoples, the measure of linguistic differentiation will also
197 be roughly the measure of anthropological differentiation.

If we wish to cast about for linguistic relationship among the Kulisehu "tribes" and thus reduce the list, we must dwell for a moment on the linguistic groups occurring in the rest of Brazil.

T There are still many individual tribes who, either because
101 their linguistic relatives are no longer living or because we do
197 not know them, speak isolated languages. We must first of all
put the Trumaí among them, in order to dispose of them im-
T mediately. I did not succeed in finding a place for them anywhere,
[192] near or far. They have borrowed a good many words from the
culture of their neighbors, the Kamayurá and Aueté, but the core
consistence of the idiom is peculiar and of a different origin.

B 101 191 197

//159 cont.//

and, in order not to do violence to the perfectly justified tribal names, as actually happened in the case of the Nahuquá, we may call them, where we need a comprehensive term, the potter tribes, according to their most important ethnological characteristic. Beside them stand the Yaulapiti as a closely related Nu-Aruak tribe, but one already clearly different in dialect and revealing other influences.

B 101 197

Thus the arithmetical problem has been simplified to the extent that we have before us Karaiben in the Bakairí and Nahuquá, Nu-Aruak in the potter tribes and the Yaulapiti, Tupí in the Auetö and the Kamayurá, and, as an indivisible remainder, the Trumaí.

II. Anthropological.

B 124 128 141

In order to have a record of the physical appearance of the Kulisehu Indians, insofar as was possible during our brief acquaintance with the individual tribes, a series of measurements were taken, which did not turn out to be very numerous and are not evenly distributed according to the different tribes or the two sexes, yet nevertheless offer interesting material. Possible sources of error on the part of the observer may be put down as constant, since the measurements were all taken by Ehrenreich. He also took a far greater number of photographs than could be reproduced here, some of them, however, became very spotty and difficult to reproduce.* He expects to make further use of the illustrative

B 128 141

* As is shown in detail in the list of illustrations, the following are reproduced here in photographs: both sexes of the Bakairí, Mehinakú and Kamayurá, as well as only men of the Nahuquá and Auetö, while Yaulapiti and Trumaí are missing altogether.

material and to deal with the collected material of the measurements in detail and according to its comparative value for the

B T 128 141

/159 cont./

other South American Indians; I shall limit myself here to a few preliminary studies and from the chief measurements give at least the bulk reduced to maximum, minimum, and arithmetical mean, in order to show merely in rough outlines the proportions of the Indian physique.

Virchow's instrumental equipment was used for the measurements: measuring staff with folding foot-board, calipers and beam compasses, as well as a steel /160/ tape measure. The measurements were entered on a printed Virchow form (cf. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie XVII, p. 100). The following were measured: Bakairí men 10, women 6; Nahuquá men 15, women 12; Mehinakú men 6, women 5; Kustenaú women 1; Waurá men 1, women 1; Auetó men 14, women 2; Kamayurá men 14, women 4; Trumaí men 8; a total of 68 men and 31 women. I shall always list the tribes in such a way that the arithmetical mean of the figures for the men increase from top to bottom.

B T 141

Body height.

	Men	Max.	Min.	Mean	Women	Max.	Min.	Mean
Trumaí	8	163.0	155.0	159.1	-	-	-	-
Auetó	14	171.6	155.5	159.9	16	156.5	139.5	148.0
Kustenaú	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	150.0
Bakairí	10	166.3	154.5	160.8	6	161.2	140.5	151.6
Nahuquá	14	166.7	155.5	162.3	12	161.0	145.0	152.2
Mehinakú	6	169.2	159.0	164.1	5	153.7	145.3	151.4
Kamayurá	14	172.0	159.0	164.1	4	155.7	152.0	153.8
Waurá	1	-	-	165.7	1	-	-	147.5

The arithmetical mean of the body heights of all these 67 men, irrespective of tribe, amounts of 161.9.

B T 128 141

Without doubt, however, the number is too low. If we exclude all younger persons up to the estimated age of 25 and include the Nahuquá estimated at "50" years who represents the minimum of 155.5, as well as the "60"-year-old Kamayurá with a minimum height of 159.0, we obtain the following rearrangement of tribes and alteration of figures. The maxima remain unaffected.

/161 cont./

128 141 It is not likewise not really possible to exclude among the women all individuals up to those 25 years old exclusively, for in that case, at least for the Bakaïrí, there would be left only the tall Egyptian, who, moreover, in my opinion, if, given "25-30" years, is estimated too old. If we disregard all women up to those 20 years old inclusively and likewise a "60"-year-old Mehinakú of 151.0, we obtain:

	Women	Min.	Mean			
Waurá	1	–	147.5	as against		147.5
Auetö	2	139.5	148.0	"	"	148.0
Kuikenaú	1	–	150.0	"	"	150.0
Mehinakú	3	145.3	150.8	"	"	151.4
Nahuquá	10	145.0	152.0	"	"	152.2
Bakaïrí	3	145.5	153.9	"	"	151.6
Kamayurá	2	154.3	155.0	"	"	153.8

The arithmetical mean of these 22 women amounts to 152.1, the mean of the Mehinakú and Nahuquá, however, after the exclusion of the younger women, has become lower. The average difference between the two sexes would be 10.5 centimeters, in other words, the women on the average were 6.5% shorter than the men.

The most powerfully built Indians were to be found among the Mehinakú, cf. Plate 14 /see p. 163/, very sturdy chaps, and the Nahuquá, cf. the illustration on page 71. The most striking phenomenon about their physique is the broad and deep chest and the tremendous shoulder breadth of the men. The breadth of the pelvis seems smaller than the breadth of the thorax. Older men and children were commonly characterized by a little belly. The women did not have very broad hips, the calves were weak, and their feet were set inward somewhat, as though they were always walking on narrow paths, so that the walk, especially of the woman tripping along with a load, was by no means beautiful. Actually, we saw only one Indian woman whose figure, even by our standards, was graceful and well proportioned, it is the slim Bakaïrí girl in the middle of the group on Plate 5, to whom the photograph, however, does not do justice.

/172 cont./

B
142 with these sharp edges, and they crush with their teeth the shells
412 from which they make their beads, a type of mistreatment that is bound to be disastrous to better teeth, the mere sight of which pained me deeply.

/173/

Chapter IX.

1. Dress. Hair and Skin.

Preliminary remarks concerning clothing and ornamentation. The hair. Head hair, body hair, lashes. The skin. Piercing. Binding. Chains. Daubing and painting. Scratch-scars. Tattooing.

B
128 Since in this and the following chapter I shall try to go back as much as possible to the origin of the dress observed among our natives, I should like to begin with two fundamental remarks.

B
171 First, I consider it erroneous that clothing, arising out of a
291 feeling of modesty, is required for man's humanity. We became acquainted with representatives for various tribal groups of the Indians on the upper Schingú, and they do not need clothing in this sense, as I deduce from the fact that they have no such clothing. Their devices, which from our custom we would be inclined to call pubic coverings, are by no means coverings, and the feeling of modesty that is supposed to have produced the coverings is not present. As early as 1584 the Jesuit Father Cardim wrote about the Brazilian natives: "All go naked, men as well as women, and have no clothing of any kind and in no case verecundant /feel shame/, but rather it seems that in this part they are in a state of innocence."

Secondly, I must explain my position somewhat with respect to the origin of ornamentation. It is established that nowadays among primitive peoples there are many types of ornament for which no real or imaginary use is apparent and which, at present, are solely articles of adornment. Nevertheless, it is probably impossible that the finer feelings were stirred before

/184 cont./

#171 301 ●[128] With this the most essential constituents of the chain ornaments have probably been enumerated; in the later chapter on the plastic art of our Indians I shall come back to details, insofar as all kinds of figures were also carved and ground.

[751] I am unable to say to what extent useful and therapeutic effects were attributed to individual objects. That the "ornament" was often "talisman" is shown by the fact that, as mentioned, children and pregnant women were the most bedecked. If the remains of a matchbox were also hung around, this, too, did not originate from a sense of beauty. The grass beads of the Bakaïrí greatly resembled fine fish-bones, but I obtained such a chain only with the greatest difficulty; in the eyes of their owners they were decidedly "more beautiful" than those with fish beads, because they were rarer.

#171 301 Daubing and painting. Why do the Indians daub themselves with oil color, either with black, like those who are less familiar with the orlean bush, or with red, as the others prefer? To frighten the enemy by means of display and disfigurement? This is certainly a practical use, but only for this particular instance.

[822] Could the love of color explain everything? If so, we are obliged to recognize the delight in black as a primary sensation of pleasure. In that case we should have to note with amazement that a natural source has eluded our Indians, #171 301 824 a source used so profusely in Polynesia, for example, and one that is abundantly available for this purpose even in the river-forest area which is relatively poor in flowers -- neither men nor women adorned themselves with flowers. I believe the only question that Antonio asked me of his own initiative was the following in Cuyabá. "Why do the women wear flowers in their hair?" The idea that it is done in order to adorn oneself with gay colors was worlds removed from his way of 000 thinking. No, the gay parrot feathers only later developed into colored ornaments. First came the pleasure in the hunt or in animal life and the boastfulness concerning the hunter's

/190 cont./

characteristically, wore on his arm the two tattoo lines of the Mehinakú women, painted on, to be sure, and not tattooed. I believe, but cannot maintain and prove, that there is a connection here with the system of matriarchy. According to the Indian conception, the sons belong to the tribe of the mother, and in every case they visit the tribal village of the mother under peaceful circumstances. It is certain that the Mehinakú women and the Mehinakú pots bore their home stamp.

II. Sexualia.

The devices among men and women are not coverings. Protection of the mucous membrane and benefits with the onset of puberty. Origin among the women, however, as bandage and cushion, among the men as gymnastic treatment for phimosis.

Our natives do not have any secret body parts. They joke about them in word and picture with such complete ingenuousness that it would be foolish to call them indecent. They envy us for our clothing as though for a valuable ornament; they put it on and wear it in our company with such utter disregard of our simplest rules and such complete misunderstanding of all the devices designed for them that their paradisiacal naïveté is most convincingly proved. Some of them celebrate /191/ the onset of puberty for both sexes with noisy folk festivals, in which general attention and boisterousness is demonstratively concerned with the "private parts." If a man wishes to tell a stranger that he is the father of another or a woman wishes to introduce herself as the mother of a child, they gravely acknowledge themselves as worthy begetters in that, with the most spontaneous and natural explanation in the world, they grasp the organs from which life issues.

Hence it is not possible to understand these people properly unless we leave aside our ideas of "clothing," unless we take them as they are and as they prove themselves in their own way. Keeping in mind as our point of departure the fact that they have

2- Steinen--1838,D-3 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/191 cont./

128 only their natural skin and no artificial fabric cover over their bodies, we must ask ourselves first of all whether the skin, in its relation to an external world to which it is directly exposed, can be affected by the changes of sexual life, and we must in any case approach this subject with clinical frankness and not with the idea of a civilized human being who is suddenly required to undress. Let us begin with a survey of the various methods used among the individual tribes for the treatment of the partes pudendae from the time of maturity on, and only from this time on. They do not at any point apply to children.

171 29 302 Among the Kulisehu tribes, with the exception of the Trumaí, the men do not show anything very special at first glance. The pubic hair is plucked; they wear only a belt-cord in the form of a cotton string on which are occasionally strung small pieces of stalks or bored seed kernels or tiny pieces of snail shell, but usually in such a way that the greater part of the string is left free. One might examine the photographs, for example, Plate 14 / see p. 163/: one finds the hip cord, without exception, on every man. Often, instead of the string, there is a hank of cotton, as in the case of one of the Nahuquá, page 71* or in the picture of the Bakairí Ucchu, Plate 6 /see

*The Nahuquá on the left lacks a hip cord because it came into our possession shortly before the picture was taken.

p. 40/. It was in the case of this particular youth, who had reached maturity a short while before and had not yet finished removing his pubic hair, that I learned about the purpose of the hip cord, which is of interest to us here. Up until then I had regarded it, along with the hank of cotton, as a carrying cord, often provided with decoration, for people who have no pockets, or as a supply of binding material that was always at hand, but in fact light tools, such as shells and fish teeth or the comb or knives given by us, were worn, not on the hip cord, but on the chest or back on a string around the neck. Also, the very

2. Steinen--1954, D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacairi SP7
Trumai SP13

/200/

III. Hunting, Agriculture, and "Stone Age" Culture.

Population figures. Location of the villages. Combination of ancient agriculture and the world view of hunters. Hunting and fishing must furnish the most important tools for the tribes lacking metal:, for whom the expression "Stone Age" is incorrect. Stone-ax monopoly, teeth, bones, shells, feathers. List of useful plants and distribution according to tribes. No bananas. Plant names as evidence of continuous development. Lack of intoxicating flour-beverages proves that simplicity is not the same as degeneration. Combination of hunting and agriculture made possible through the division of labor of the sexes. Indian women do the agriculture, they invent pots to replace gourds; the men do the roasting, the women the boiling. Culture with agriculture, pottery, and the preparation of flour was spread and maintained by foreign women after wars, in particular by Na-Aruak women.

The population of the Schingú /Xingu/ source region probably amounts to approximately 2500-3,000 souls. I am not in a position to give more than a very superficial estimate. Even in the third Bakaïrí village, the young women and girls fled into the woods when we arrived. Usually the fugitives gradually returned, to be sure, but we never knew for certain whether we were seeing before us the normal number of inhabitants. The opposite also occurred, namely, that visitors from the neighboring villages had come in, and the company surrounding us seemed too large. The smallest villages consisted of only two family-houses, the largest of almost 20. In general, it will be correct if one reckons for the villages, depending on their size, a population of 30 to 150 and, where it is high, up to 200 inhabitants.

Only the Trumaí and, beyond Schingú-Kobbenn, the Suyá lived along the river bank. These were the most warlike and restless tribes. one might regard the Suyá as the pike in a fish pond. The rest lived in peaceful security, often more than two hours of travel inland from the river. But while the river in the region of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ was still narrow and had

/228 cont./

fire-maker. I also remembered the stick of pressed dry cow dung which is allowed to glow for many hours on the decks of Indian ships for the use of smokers. Perhaps a corresponding use of wood dust is to be found here and there. Wood shavings were used by us in historical Germany up to the beginning of this century, along with flint and steel.

V. Weapons, Implements, Industry.

Bows and arrows. Throwing stick. Club. Canoe. Fishing implements. Plaiting and textile work. Burití and cotton hammocks. Gourd vessels. Pottery.

I have reported on the settlements, the way of life, and the tools of our Indians, insofar as they present peculiarities. What remains to be said about one implement or another will follow naturally within the framework of the description of arts and crafts, which, on account of the many new things, requires a special survey. On the other hand, it is advisable to say a little more about the appearance and the use of the weapons, as well as about the simplest craft skills.

Bows and arrows are the only weapon common to all our Indians. Clubs are used among the Suyá and Trumaí. Nowhere are there lances. Nowhere blowguns and poisoned arrows. Only the sorcerer has a kind of theoretical poisoned arrow when, as we shall see, he secretly and with powerful witchcraft hurls poisoned twigs at his victim. At any rate, the idea of a projectile poison comes before us here.

/229/ Bows and arrows are distinguished by their size, the arrows by the extremely neat and pleasing workmanship. The length of the bows is more than two and a third meters, that of the arrows one and a half to almost two meters. The wood of the bow is yellowish or light brown and comes from the aratá tree, Tecoma, and others. We found palm wood in only a few bows of the Tupí tribes; here, too, the bow was plaited round with cotton in an attractive pattern, something unknown among the other tribes. The bowstring is twisted out of tucum fiber.

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●128 I shall discuss the reed diadems and plaited dance costumes in the chapter on masks.

$171 213 234 Textile work. The material: pineapple silk, aloe hemp, palm fiber from the tucum and buriti, and cotton. The fibers are put in neat bundles, and twisted on the thigh, but the cotton tufts, on the other hand, are drawn out into a thread by means of the spindle likewise made to turn rapidly on the thigh and then spinning freely. Only the women spin and weave. The fiber strings serve as the actual tie-threads and ropes, fish nets, carrying nets, in certain cases hammocks, and finally bowstrings are made of them. Knitting is done with bamboo rods or long wooden needles that have eyes.

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$171 392 285

Fig. 32. Fire fan (1/2 nat. size /in the original illustration/.)

$171 283 The spindle is a disk through which is stuck a thin, not very straight, and smoothly worked stick sometimes notched at the tip. To it is attached a tuft of cotton, bead of seeds, whereupon the whorl is rapidly turned on the thigh and the whole allowed to hang. As a result of the even rotation, the cotton is twisted into a thread. The thread is wound on the little stick, until a thick, cone-shaped ball rests against the whorl, which prevents it from slipping off. Diameter of the whorl-disk, five and a half to six centimeters, length of spindle shaft, 30-35 centimeters. The whorl usually consists of a piece of the ventral shell of the turtle,

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2: Steinen--2348D-5 (1884,1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
WANTA SP 15
Mehinaku

/241 cont./

into bowls, the fresh fruits are wound with palm fiber and scratched along it with a shell. If a bowl cracks during use, it is sewed: the small holes are bored with the pointed tooth of the dogfish and the sewing is done with a buriti thread rubbed with wax, the knots of which are cut off close to the shell by the tooth edge ground knife-sharp. The drawings that decorate the surface are incised with the same tooth, unless one prefers to burn them in with a red-hot stick. The drinking bowls and small ladle-gourds or spoons are given a coating of black lacquer on the inside. The lacquer is the soot of the charred buriti shaft mixed with the yellow, sticky liquid extract of the grated rind of the ochogohi tree from the campo cerrado /densely covered campo/. Special small, spherical gourds served to hold the oil with which the body was rubbed and were closed with a stopper, the Bakairi called the fruit piru. They sometimes hung in a closely plaited net. I shall consider the rattle gourd in connection with the dance music.

Pottery. In the chapter on the "Stone Age" culture, cf. pages 217 ff., I have discussed in detail the origin of the pots in our region, the monopoly of the Nu-Aruak tribes, and the manufacture limited to only the female sex. Only in the later chapter on the plastic arts, when the development of Indian art has become clear, shall I be in a position to speak of the ornamental aspect of the pots.

Three types of pots were distinguished according to size and purpose. First, the huge mawukïru of the Mehinaku, in which the grated manihot root was cooked. They had a diameter of almost three-fourths of a meter. We were unable to bring home any of these pots, but took a photograph among the Aueto, from which their shape and, since a man -- by right it should have been a woman -- is squatting beside it, also their size are clear. Cf. Plate 15 /see p. 253/. The largest and most attractive pots are furnished by the Waurá. For cooking they were set on three low clay feet of cylindrical shape and bulging at the bottom.

A second type, the cooking pot for fruit and small fish, had a diameter of 18-20 centimeters, a height of about 12 centimeters. It was round with rather steep, slightly bulging walls and sometimes had a rim two and a half centimeters wide and

2 Steinen--321E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Waura SP18
Mehinacu

/.86 cont./

On the Batovy we found fish (Fig. 75 /see p. 320/) crudely carved out of hard bark and pierced for hanging up, 30-40 centimeters long, flat and wide, with fins or hand-like without fins, and the gill cover marked by a curve. Just as in the rhombus drawings of fish one corner is filled in to represent the head. We found similar fish in 1887 among the Nahuquá. Here, however, they are whizzer sticks, which I shall discuss under musical instruments in the chapter "Mask Ornamentation and Dance Ornaments, III" /see pp. 381 - 387/.

The mandioca digging-sticks among the Mehinakú showed a carved decoration of great interest. The ordinary digging-stick is a smooth, pointed stick made of hard wood 60-65 centimeters long and of exactly the same shape as the ornamental stick of Fig. 76 /see p. 320/, which is decorated with the meranchu design and plaited round in several places. These pointed sticks take the place of the spade. Now it occurs to imaginative minds /Fig. 76 appears here/ to carve the head and part of the body of the digger wasp, a little animal that also throws up the sand, on the blunt end of the stick. See Fig. 77 /see p. 322/. The first picture of the series shows us this motif in the first stage. We see the constricted body sharply set off and on it the head with an eye of wax on either side (cf. also Fig. 78 /see p. 322/. In the three following pictures the figure is stylized, the last one, a simple point, does not seem to be connected with this development, but it is striking that the /285/ pointed piece is set off on a free edge. Figures 2, 3, and 4 are thus stylized digger wasps; they would be as little recognizable as such as are the horses' heads on many a gable of the farmhouse in Pomerania, if one /Fig. 77 appears here/ did not know their story, and without it they would certainly be regarded as purely ornamental. In our case the motif is truly motivated. The Indians laughingly demonstrated for me how they themselves tear up the ground, just as the /Fig. 78 appears here/ digger wasp burrows and throws up the sand. The Mehinakú called it kukúi, the Bakairí koingkoling.

2: Steinen--430E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7

/362 cont./

539 more natural than that the tatú, well known for quickly digging itself in, should, as soon as it eludes its pursuer, make a group of those star holes. All that was missing for establishing the game of escape and pursuit was the quarrel, and the "apple of discord," for which again is chosen the favorite fruit, which is round and has butter-yellow meat, but any other might have been chosen. In short, the story originates, without any great power of invention, by making a connection between the characteristics of one of the heavenly animals that presented itself through the natural stimulus and a suitable group of stars that attracts the attention of the inquiring mind. Then the name runs "the giant armadillo comes out." All that is required is the interest that produces the question, and the explanatory ideas are inevitable.

973 128 One generation may have contributed this, another generation that. To continue the analysis up to the final details is simply impossible, if one because the comparative material with other Karaiben tribes is very meager.

K1 ass sie Transformation. A large part of the Bakaïrí explanation of nature rests on the supposition of sorcery. They have no development, but only transformation. This takes place in two ways.

The first is that a dead person is blown upon and comes to life, or that a thing is blown upon and comes to life. To the dead person the breath which he lacks is given back; to the thing, breath is imparted and with it life. This blowing, proceeding from the most natural attempt at resuscitation, and the tobacco-blowing of the modern medicine man must not be confused. The weak newborn babies in Maigéri (cf. p. 392), for whose life one feared, were blown upon day and night, but not with tobacco. It was only in practice that the two methods merged. The blowing of tobacco smoke on a patient was merely added by transference to the smoking of the doctor -- which, as we have seen (cf. p. 407), is merely the easiest and most pleasant of the various types of narcosis otherwise induced by drinking, on the use of which his art seems to be based. It has probably long been forgotten that by

/372 cont./

793 how powerfully, from time immemorial, civilization was seized by the attraction toward the west; all the tribes who bury their dead -- since they cannot place a compass in the grave -- with the face toward the rising sun, are supposed to have come from the east. "Where does Keri live?" I asked Antonio. "In heaven." "But in which direction?" "In the east; that is where he keeps the sun. The pot that covers it at night stands in his house." Old Caetano called Keri the "Imperador" /emperor/, and he, too, had him living in the east, namely, in Rio de Janeiro. I do not see the slightest reason for mixing up the first act in heaven of the Keri myth with a migration myth. The sun was there before Keri; he simply regulated its course. If he goes with the sun, he must live in the east or the west; the Bakaïrí decided on the east and could now have easily come to the conclusion, which they did not draw, that their ancestors came from there. The ancestors, however, could not very well have lived in the east wherever this conclusion is drawn. It need not cause surprise, however, that Keri goes with the sun, since he is merely the person who was added to the sun in the story by way of explanation, and since the person who is supposed to represent the founder of the tribe and who is linked with the most important achievements has been added to the story, the culture hero must also be the "god of light."

II. The Texts.

800 The parents of Keri and Kame. Origin and death of the mother. The latter avenged. Sun, sleep, and buriti hammock. Heaven and earth interchanged. Fire. Rivers. To the salto of the Paranatinga. House, fishing, festival dances, tribes. Departure of Keri and Kame. Tobacco and cotton. Mandioca; deer antlers. The ugly ostrich. Keri and the campo fox out hunting. The jaguar and the ant bear.

• 188 113 539 I have published the original texts of the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/ legend:, with interlinear translation, in the Bakaïrí-Grammatik.

/372 cont./

128 539 Here I shall try to relate their content, which, to be understood, requires the essential supplements furnished by Antonio. They themselves consist of very short sentences and have an extremely terse form of expression.

539 The parents of Keri and Kame. The first part of the legend takes place in heaven. Almost everything that is now on earth existed at that time. Nothing is reported about an actual creation; it is only told how the heroes Keri and Kame acquire all kinds of good and important things from others. There were always Bakaïrí present, though "at the beginning /373/ only a few." There were also people of other tribal affiliations, especially the various jaguars and their relatives, who killed and devoured many Bakaïrí. For example, Kamuschini, with whom the story begins, was also "of another people."

Kamuschini, when he was looking for leaves of the tucum palm in the forest in order to provide himself with cord for bowstrings, met the jaguar Oka, was afraid of him, and promised to make women for him if he would spare him. First he felled trees with red wood (sewẽti), took the blocks home, set them in a maize mortar, blew on them, and withdrew for a while. When he returned, however, they had all turned into men who were carving arrows! He killed them, went out again and with a stone axe felled five or six other trees, proceeded with them as with the first, and, after he had left the ones blown upon to themselves for a while, found that this time they had become women. They all said "Papa" to him and, with the exception of the last ones who sat there lazily and whom he therefore angrily killed at once,* they were busily pounding maize -- "it is said that there

* For five of them I was given the names Nimagakaniro, Atanumagale, Ichoge, Koyaka, and Tawagũri. In Bakaïrí-Grammatik, p. 226, I erroneously said that Kamuschini felled five pikí trees, and besides that I was guilty of accusing Kamuschini of an error. He first felled two pikí trees, from which came

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/405 cont./

a whole into its halves. Objects furnish the empirical limit of the "2" gesture. Dependence on sense of touch. Confirmation by etymology.

The art of counting was the least developed among the Bakaïrí /Bacairi/. With regard to the other tribes I shall limit myself to a few remarks, since I am giving the numbers in the word list /omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, pp. 524-547/.

All tribes counted the fingers of both hands first and then the toes of both feet. With the exception of the Bakaïrí, they commenced with the thumb of the right hand, counted up to 5 on the fingers, went over to the thumb of the left hand, counted up to 10 here, and repeated the procedure in exactly the same way for the feet.

If one regards the number words in terms of their formation, one observes among all the tribes that they have separate words for 1, 2, 3, with the exception of the Bakaïrí, whom I shall ignore for the time being, and the Trumaí, for whom, however, the records contain much that is uncertain; among the Trumaí the word for 2, hurs, is contained in the one for 3, hurstamẽ. On the other hand, the Trumaí and, besides them, only the Waurá (uncertain) and the Kamayurá /Camayura/ have an entirely new word for 4, whereas among all the others 4 is represented by 2 altered by an addition.

For 5 the Trumaí and the Auetö have a new word that has nothing to do with "hand." Among all the others, always with the exception of the Bakaïrí, "hand" is contained in the 5. The Kamayurá say "hand stops," yenepó momáp (Guaraní mombáb, to stop), the potter tribes say "1 hand," the Nahuquá simply "hand."

The numbers 6, 7, 8, 9 are formed out of 1, 2, 3, 4 with an addition. It is only among the Kamayurá that the latter is different for 6 and 7 than for 8 and 9. For 6 and 7 = 1 and 2 + verowák, the meaning (Guaraní guerobág) seems to be: 1 or 2 are interchanged, alternate.

/406/ Among the potter tribes and probably also the Auetö 10 contains the hands, among the others the word is a new one.

2: Steinen--657 E,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP9
Guayaki SM4
Zamuco SM10
Chamacoco
Mbaya SM11
Guaicuru

/549 cont./

B 128 129 I shall further give the comments of 1846 and, as bracken, add the little that is worth knowing from later years found in the booklet of the Directoria, which otherwise contained almost solely personal and administrative notes.

G 105 145 1. Cayuás. Little known. Rather numerous. Are sedentary and carry on agriculture.

Z 175 105 [131] [233] 2. Chamococos. Scattered over a large forest area south of Coimbra near Bahia Negra in small groups that seldom unite. Strong, good workmen, not very intelligent. Hunters, engage in a little horse-breeding. Naked, the women cover their nakedness with a fabric of embira de caraguata.* Bags for foodstuffs are

* Bromeliae spinosa, commonly "gravata."

made out of the same material. No other industry. Occasionally at war with a tribe of the same name in the west. Sell their children to Guaycurús and Guanás for axes, horses, and cotton cloth. Not hostile, but not inclined to make contact; four or five speak Portuguese. Once a year, at most, a few come to Miranda or Albuquerque. Like to become intoxicated and to steal also.

Z [439]

M 115 105 [131] 162 342 231 3-6. Guaycurús Cadiuéos. Famous in ancient times for their resistance. About 800 on both banks of the Paraguay below Coimbra. In various hordes. Live in tents made of poles and skins or mats. Hunting, fishing, no agriculture. Many horses, some wool-bearing animals, pigs, chickens. No industry. Eternally at war with their neighbors, at peace with Brazil. Proud and treacherous; come with plaited work to barter for whiskey, horses, etc.

M [131] [162] [Report 1872: Guaycurús Beaquéos. About 100 individuals in one village near Miranda. Hunting, fishing. Maize, pororóca, ** mandioca, batatas, cará, gourds, sugar cane. A

** Also pipóca, a variety of maize most suitable for a biscuit like pastry.

/226 cont./

194 There are no words beginning with b, except for bakaári, or d, or g, or ŋ, or l, or r; two words given by Steinen with initial r are rendered more correctly: arapadura, Otomoo.

Initial p, m, t, b, kr, when transferred to the middle by the addition of prefixes and even of independent words, are transformed respectively into w, d, y. In the middle of words there is a frequent change of p to b, t to d, m to w, with nasalization of the preceding vowel; of y to p, l to r, r to n, ʒ to b.

The accent is put on the penult, except when the last syllable ends in λ or ɳ, in which case the accent passes to it. The accent is also shifted when two words run together through elision: e.g., bakaári, accent on the penult, on the á; bakaɾ'idamu, accent on the kác, as though spelled bakáɾidámu.

There are no diphthongs, properly speaking, but vowels may be compressed together in such a way as to produce the impression of diphthongs.

• 128 Now that the reader knows more or less how to read Kaua-itano, he may practice on the following text, /227/ which is accompanied by an interlinear translation; it will serve as the basis for a brief grammatical outline, and it is unpublished, like all those that we shall present.

JcAbeu--29 E-5 (ca. 1892) 1908 SFT Bacairi SFT

/268 cont./

123 These few lines indicate how much could be done on these grounds yet to be explored.

/269/ And now that this linguistic step has been overcome and the reader already has a slight idea of the sounds and forms of Kuiza-itano, let us question the Bacairi concerning their conception of the world, family, and society, their cultural acquisitions, their migrations, etc.

Four, or at most five points will suffice for this.

/270/ II

794 The Conception of the World

The Bacairi believe that man consists of two elements: kesitanopiri, "our shadow, going /andadura/ or running /corrida/," and ketati, "our shirt," or kyunubu, "our skin." They may be translated as: "body and soul," but the translation is inadequate.

The shadow puts on and takes off its shirt with ease and often, going out and coming in, now normally, now abnormally, now temporarily, now permanently.

The egress is normal when there is shouting, because the shadow, with the same speed with which it goes to the place where the echo rebounds, returns to its skin, or when one is sleeping and dreaming. When sleep becomes agitated, it indicates the ascent of hills, the fording of streams, or evil encounters. The person who is asleep is not awakened, for the shadow may not yet have put its shirt back on (10).

171 774 576 10. Matías Ruiz Blanco in his Conversión de Piritú /Conversion of Piritu/, published in 1690, gives a variant of the same idea among the Indians of that region, who, like the Bacairis, were also

4:Schmidt--1 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SPT-Bacairi SPT

/11/

I. Historical Data on the Bakairí /Bacairi/

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The same title which I have given to the present part of this publication was given by Karl von den Steinen to Chapter 14 of his book, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens /Among the Natives of Central Brazil/ (1) in which he deals at

[113]

1. Karl von den Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens. Berlin, 1894, pp. 387-395.

length with the history of the Bakairí up to the year of his second expedition, carried out in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River in the year 1887, based on comparative literature and on information received from the Bakairí themselves.

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There follows from the research of Karl von den Steinen that in the time prior to his first expedition to the Xingu River, very little was known on the Bakairí, although the western part of these Indians, that is to say, the Bakairí who lived on the Rio Paranatinga and the Rio Novo, had lived for a long time in fairly active contact with the Brazilians and came occasionally to the capital, Cuiabá, to sell the rubber they had produced

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and to ask for some donatives from the government. Martius, too, knows almost nothing about them, and treats them as if they were a Pareesi group. (2) It is noteworthy that Martius

[113]

2. Martius, Zur Ethnographie Amerikas zumal Brasiliens /Toward an Ethnography of the Americas, especially of Brazil/. Vol. I, 1867, p. 779.

already mentions the existence of Bakairí in the region of the headwaters of the Xingu River: "Bacahiri, Bacchyri also live on the southern headwaters of the Xingu River"; (3) but with

3. Ibid., p. 382.

/12 cont./

174 177 619 114 175 619 [642] [113]

Brazilians, for otherwise the Bakairí of the Batovy and Kuliseu rivers could not have remained so totally free of /13/ any European influence. In my book, Indianerstudien in Zentralbrasilien (3), I discussed at length the causes of this long isolation of the

3. Max Schmidt, Indianerstudien in Zentral-Brasilien. Erlebnisse und Ethnologische Ergebnisse einer Reise in den Jahren 1900-1901 /Indian Studies in Central Brazil. Adventure and Ethnology. Results of a Journey in the Years 1900-1901/. Berlin, 1905, p. 320.

eastern Bakairí, and among these causes I especially emphasized the hostility which existed between the Bakairí and their neighbors the Kayabí /Cayabí/, who long made unsafe the region located between the settlements of the western and eastern Bakairí. Contact between these two Bakairí groups was re-established when Karl von den Steinen took along with him on his first expedition to the Xingu River, the Bakairí, Antonio, who later became cacique of the Bakairí, so that he had the opportunity to become acquainted with his fellow countrymen who lived on the Rio Batovy. Already in the year 1886, that is, before Karl von den Steinen's second expedition, the Bakairí Felipe, who was then cacique of the Paranatinga Bakairí, had on his part visited, along with the above-mentioned Antonio and another Bakairí, his fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy and had succeeded in getting some of them to make, in turn, a visit to the Rio Paranatinga.

128 101

In order to make a connection with Karl von den Steinen's historical report, I shall first refer in a few words to the conditions in which this author found the Bakairí at the time of his second expedition in the year 1887. I shall first deal with the

A.Schmidt--5 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 NY Bureau NY

/13 cont./ I shall first deal with the
western Bakairí, most of whom lived in two aldeas about two
leagues apart, located on the Corrego Sant'Anna, a tributary
of the Rio Novo, and the rest on the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles
Pires). (6) The Bakairí of the Rio Paranatinga lived at that time

6. Cf. the map drawn by Vogel and published in Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit.

in a single aldea, located 17 kilometers downriver from the mouth of the Piava and right on the narrow river valley. (7)

7. Cf. Antonio Pyrineus de Sousa, Exploração do Rio Paranatinga e seu levantamento topographico bem como o dos Rios S. Manoel e Telles Pires /Exploration of the Rio Paranatinga and its Topographic Survey as well as that of the São Manoel and Telles Pires Rivers/. Commissão de Linhas Telegraphicas, etc., Publication No. 34, Appendix No. 2. Rio de Janeiro, 1916, pp. 35 and 61.

Besides these Bakairí of the Rio Novo and the Rio Paranatinga it was said that there were some of these Indians living on the Rio Preto in the vicinity of Diamantino, the remainder of the inhabitants of a settlement of former times, (8) and a few

8. Karl v.d. Steinen, Unter den Naturvölkern, loc. cit., p. 387.

individuals working on one ranch or another in the western region of the headwaters of the Rio Paranatinga.

4dSchmidt--12 E-5 (1901, 1927-1931) 1947 SP7 Bacaun SP7

/17 cont./
the Paranatinga Bakairí, one of whom, named Charlotta, was the wife of Cacique Felipe. To the influence of such women, captured in hostile encounters with the Paresí, we must attribute, in the first place, the extensive assimilation of the legends of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga River. (19)

19. Ibid., p. 385.

According to the statements of the western Bakairí, the origin of the Bakairí who live in the region of the tributaries of the Xingu River was due to the fact that, as a result of quarrels among the Bakairí, who were still living in former times by the Sala, part of them broke away and emigrated to the Rio Kulisehu. (20) We do not know whether this represents

20. Ibid., p. 391.

a historical fact or merely legendary superstitions of the Paranatinga Bakairí. For lack of any objective knowledge of the presence of these Indians in former times on the two tributaries of the Xingu River, the Batovy and the Kulisehu, and for lack of any statements about their former life by these Indians themselves, the history of these eastern Bakairí begins only at the time of Karl von den Steinen's first expedition to the Xingu River in the year 1884, which brought attention upon them for the first time and was their first historical event. As for the first effects of this event, so important for the subsequent fate of the eastern Bakairí, Karl von den Steinen was already able to recognize them himself and make use of them in his section "History of the Bakairí." The first mutual visit between the Bakairí of the Paranatinga and their fellow countrymen on the Rio Batovy marked the beginning of relations between these two Bakairí groups. In what follows we shall deal with the manner in which these relations gradually increased, extending also to the Bakairí of the Rio Kulisehu and influencing

175 /17 cont./
219 in subsequent times to a high degree the history of the two
128 groups of the Bakairí tribe, so different one from the other.

After Karl von den Steinen's second expedition to the
195 Xingu River, the next event in the history of the Bakairí, and especially of the Bakairí of the Paranatinga, was the last expedition of Captain Telles Pires in the year 1889. This explorer, accompanied by Lieutenant Oscar Miranda and 26 boatmen, among whom were also Paranatinga Bakairí, had endeavored to go down the Rio Paranatinga (Rio Telles Pires) from the mouth of the Rio S. Manuel /São Manuel River/.
175 Among the 21 companions who perished with Telles Pires in
622 this undertaking was Cacique Felipe of the Paranatinga Bakairí, who died of fever on the way. The Bakairí, Bruno, raised and adopted by this cacique, who had accompanied his father, was not heard of again after this excursion and it was supposed that he also had perished. When the Bakairí got the news of
175 their cacique's death, they burned their houses /18/ and
622 abandoned their aldea to settle farther upriver. The harbor of
166 the new aldea, situated like the previous aldea on the left
361 side of the river, was 18 kilometers downriver from the mouth
[103] of the Rio S. Manuel on the Rio Paranatinga, or Rio Telles Pires as it was officially named after the ill-fated undertaking of Captain Telles Pires, and the aldea itself was 1,600 meters inland from the riverbank and 200 meters from the small Corrego do Tatú /"Armadillo Stream"/. (21)

21. A. Pyrineus de Souza, loc. cit., pp. 61, 68, and 69.

175 Who the first cacique of the aldea was after Felipe's death
622 I do not know. At the close of the last decade of the past century, when Antonio Correa da Costa was president of the State of Mato Grosso (in the years from 1895 to the beginning of 1898, with a gap in the year 1897), the cacique of the aldea